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was approved before allotment activities ceased in this area in 1912; otherwise the same confusion would have resulted among the Papago as is common on many reservations.[20] As it was, the proposed divisions started feuds and factions among the people.

These various and sporadic attempts to protect Papago land and resources against white encroachment and to establish Indian ownership after the white fashion covered a period of more than forty years. It then became apparent that such a haphazard system offered no protection to the main body of the tribe who lived outside the reserved areas. In 1917 a reservation was established to include most of the land now occupied by the tribe except "the Strip," which separated the northern third of the area from the southern part. In 1931 this land was purchased, and in 1938 an area to the southwest known as Menager's Tract was bought. These and several smaller additions brought the Reservation to its present size of 4,500 square miles. With all their lands thus formally designated as a reservation, the Papago acquired the rights, protection, and inconveniences with which most other Indians in the United States had long since been acquainted.

One of the usual features of reservation life—education for Indian children—was not new to the Papago. Since about 1890 there had been opportunities to go to non-Reservation boarding schools operated by the government and various church groups. A surprising number of adults on the Reservation today spent five or ten years in the Presbyterian mission school in Tucson or at a government Indian school in Phoenix, Arizona, Grand Junction, Colorado, Chilocco, Oklahoma, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, or Riverside, California. Since these students came largely from the southern and eastern districts of the Reservation, many of the people in these districts can speak English. The area is "progressive" in American ways and supplies many of the leaders of the tribe, who have some understanding of Western culture. The majority of these students came home and made a satisfactory adjustment, "returning to the blanket" in that they reintegrated themselves with the old culture, but also bringing back with them certain new values which are obvious today. This amalgamation of new and old makes the eastern and southern districts different from the western and central sections, where none of the older generation ever went away to school. With the establishment of the Agency at Sells in 1917, the first government day school was founded. This brought the problem of schools very close to home—often in the face of strong local opposition.

20. On the small San Xavier Reservation, for instance; most of the allotments are at present in fractional difficulties, and one individual's share runs as small as 1/250 of an acre (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 4).

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The general objectives and methods of the schools have been discussed in chapter vii; here we report the child's reactions to them. The day at school described below is based largely on observation at one government school in Hickiwan District. Other government schools differ in details; those at Sells are larger and better equipped, and in several greater academic progress can be and is expected of the student.[5]

The new pupil is seated with four or five of his age mates in a room accommodating all children from five through ten. He is not highly restricted in the schoolroom but can move around or talk with others as he wishes if he is quiet. Older brothers and sisters are eager to assist the younger ones, perhaps translating for them the teacher's instructions or showing them how to use school materials. The atmosphere is usually relaxed and pleasant. If the child begins school with no knowledge of English, which is very likely, one of his [191] first tasks is to learn the English names for everyday objects. He learns to use elementary readers and to count up to one hundred in English. Before he goes on to the next group, he understands some spoken English and will answer simple questions, usually with "Yes" or "No." He is also taught a few rules of hygiene, which are reinforced by daily brushing of teeth and washing of hands and face at school.[6] This process may take several years, but no effort is made to hurry him.

Manual skills are taught in artwork and in play with American toys; supervised play, both in and out of the schoolroom, is a part of the program. Lunch is prepared in the school kitchen by an Indian cook.

On the playground a child associates only with others of his own sex and age group. There is some interest in American games, but most play is unorganized. Boys play marbles, run and scuffle together, and enjoy the swings, slides, and teeter-totters. Girls rarely use the playground equipment. They may play jacks, but spend most of their free time loitering around the schoolhouse, watching the teacher or talking Papago with the cook. In all groups quarrels are unusual. When any competition arises, as it occasionally does among the boys, relatives support one another, and children from the same village side together, regardless of age.

On most parts of the Reservation, going to school is the child's initial contact with whites. His first teacher is usually a woman. The youngster is ex-

5. Experience in the mission schools, with their more conventional curriculum and religious emphasis, is doubtless different, but the writer could make no observations of them because there are no mission schools in Hickiwan or Gu Vo districts.

6. Except among children in the extreme West, where schools are relatively new and there are few English-speaking Papago, youngsters often surpass the academic attainments described here by the time they are ten years old. This is particularly true in Baboquivari District.

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872 tremely shy with her in the beginning, staring soberly at her when addressed, sitting at his desk without moving, and following the example of others when response is expected of him. He resents any physical contact with the teacher and shrinks away if she leans over to help him or puts a friendly hand on his shoulder. In a fairly short time, however, his shyness decreases; he talks in Papago to the other children in front of the teacher, speaks up when reciting, and sometimes even begs to be "next." When the child relaxes into the fun-loving little person he ordinarily is, he frequently becomes noisy and has to be asked to be quiet. He does so, momentarily at least, and takes the rebuke as a matter of course. Ordinarily he minds the teacher rather well. Little girls spend a good deal of their free time with the teacher, watching her every move with curiosity, trying to talk with her, and always beaming at any attention.

SICKNESS AND HEALTH

753 Long before he is five years old, the Papago child knows and fears sickness.[7]
857 He has already learned that contacts with animals and with ghosts appearing in animal form may make him ill. Now he is taught that his own bad thoughts may also bring sickness (see chap. vi), and he has also learned to fear the power of the "bad" medicine man or witch.

755 In time of illness attributed to any of these causes, the child has implicit faith
957 in the "good" medicine man, for the shaman is often someone he knows or even a relative. The youngster has no fear of him, although he does stand in some awe of the medicine man's power to communicate with the terrifying animals and ghosts. During this age period the shaman does not perform over the child any rite similar to the birth or puberty ceremonies, but he becomes a familiar and trusted figure.

857 To the school doctor and nurse, however, the child's reaction is very differ-
759 ent. When he undergoes a physical examination at school each year, he is
609 liable to be very frightened; he does not like to be touched by the white medicine man, and he resents being even partially disrobed. The teacher knows this and tries to fortify him while he is being examined. After several visits of the doctor or nurse,[8] the youngster becomes somewhat accustomed to them and, if not undressed, will submit to examination with no show of nervousness except extreme quiet. He will allow external medicines to be used on him and will take cough syrup, and sometimes he asks the teacher to clean or bandage a sore or cut.

7. For discussion of the health of Papago children see chap. xii.

8. Doctors come to the school once a month, nurses semimonthly.

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883 The boys do not dance as constantly as the girls of their age, for they never
535 dance with each other. If a lad is interested in a particular girl, he will ask her to dance oftener than the others, but he generally chooses many different partners during the night.

ADOLESCENTS AT SCHOOL

883 Papago children begin to drop out of Reservation schools at about thirteen,
● 872 and few youths remain after they are fifteen. (The decrease in day-school attendance is partially offset by the increase in off-Reservation boarding-school enrolments from this group.) Few families except some in the eastern villages exert pressure on the young people to stay in school. Those who remain do so because they really want to, and their attendance is quite regular except when their help is especially needed at home on account of harvest, roundup, or illness. A few students (probably about the same proportion as in most white groups) remain at school because they are genuinely interested in learning; these are the boys and girls who attempt to use English outside the classroom and keep extra books in their desks for use in spare time, but the great majority come to school to be with friends from other villages or to escape the routine of work at home.

In the average government school teen-age boys and girls are placed together in one classroom. Since the group may include mere beginners as well as youngsters who can meet the standards of upper elementary grades in white schools, division within the room is on the basis of academic attainment. Instruction in the tool subjects is carried on much as in the younger group. Some adolescent youngsters can use a sixth-grade reader, a fourth-grade arithmetic, and a fourth- or fifth-grade spelling book. In most schools the children learn to carry on at least a simple conversation in English (the case depending upon the amount of contact with whites and the aptitude of the students); but they almost always remain shy in their attempts to converse with white people.

In addition to the tool subjects, two of the larger government schools give manual training to the boys and teach cooking and sewing to the girls. A few others keep beehives or chickens for boys to tend. In nearly every school the girls set the tables for lunch, help serve the food, clear tables, and dry dishes, all under the supervision of the Papago cook. Instruction in the mission schools is limited mainly to academic and religious subjects.

Some government schools have athletic teams, but playground sports are largely unorganized; adolescent boys throw and bounce a basketball or occasionally have a game of marbles, but they rarely use the playground equipment or scuffle together as the small boys do. No marked leadership is apparent, and boys of the same village do not group together as they did when

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younger. Those who are musicians often bring their instruments to school; other lads join them in the desert away from the schoolhouse, where they sometimes practice for hours before an enthusiastic audience. Boys may gather around the bus-driver or teacher and spend the recreational hour watching the former repair a bus or pump. (The Papago are interested in machines and make good mechanics, but the schools offer no course in machine operation or maintenance, probably because too few older boys attend day school.)

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Teen-age girls at school tend to pair off as they do at home. Two friends sit together on the school bus, ask to do kitchen duties at the same time, and spend their free time walking arm in arm about the playground or using the swings and teeter-totters, which they greatly enjoy. During recreation hours they do not spend as much time as the little girls with the teacher or Papago cook. Hickiwan girls may often be seen at noon primping before the mirror, recombing their hair or renewing makeup. Nearly all the girls try to present a nice appearance; they wear good dresses to school and groom themselves to the best of their ability.

Adolescents are much less spontaneous and friendly with the teacher than younger children. The boys respond rather freely to the male teachers at the Hickiwan and Gu Vo schools and occasionally talk with them about the war and the difficulties of staying in school when there is work to be done at home. Girls giggle in the presence of men teachers and never start a conversation. Neither boys nor girls are afraid of them, nor are they particularly concerned about their reactions to badly prepared lessons. Older students often try various tricks to get out of assignments and regard it as a huge joke if they are caught in the evasion. In the eastern districts the Papago parents' higher regard for schooling is reflected in their children's more serious attitude toward teachers and lessons.

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With the women teachers at Hickiwan or Gu Vo the older boys are respectful and reserved. They readily perform any task she asks of them and answer her questions courteously, but they seldom start conversations with her. The girls are painfully shy and giggle in the teacher's presence at first, but they overcome their timidity enough to linger in the schoolroom occasionally and join in conversations and to refrain from dodging when the teacher touches them. Even so, they never attain the little girl's freedom with her. If something she says amuses them, they respond not to her but to one another; their appreciative glances and smiles are directed toward the other girls and do not include the teacher.

Teaching methods and inter-Papago relationships at Hickiwan and Gu Vo schools, described here, are similar to those of the other government schools.

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However, at all the missions, and at government schools in areas where education is more enthusiastically fostered by the Papago, discipline is much more strict and academic standards are higher. Furthermore, student-teacher relationships vary; when they see the teacher very frequently, children react to his or her personality rather than to the "white teacher" role.

In the western districts few children go beyond the elementary work offered by Reservation schools; most of them have been in school too short a time to begin to think of high school. Some eastern children, particularly those from Baboquivari and Chukut Kuk districts, leave the Reservation for upper grades or high school in government or religious boarding schools and there are always a few in college or trade school. Usually only good students are encouraged to continue in school. Priests and teaching sisters select the students for Catholic boarding schools. In Presbyterian families parents often stimulate their children's interest in further education. Students at government schools are encouraged to continue by their teachers, families, or perhaps by a social worker who sees in an off-Reservation school the solution of difficulties at home.

Going to boarding school is usually the Papago's first experience at living away from the Reservation for any length of time without relatives. However, at any school to which he goes there will be other Papago children. For a while they are homesick and talk constantly of Papaguería, but before long most of them recover their good spirits and, after their first vacation at home, are ready to go back to school.

At boarding school boys and girls receive vocational as well as academic instruction. Some are selected for athletic teams, play against other schools, and even get their names in the sports section of white papers. They take part in school plays. They learn their way about big towns and, though under strict supervision, are rather thoroughly exposed to American ways of life. However, few Papago have this experience; in 1941–42 only 154 were enrolled in boarding schools.

THE YOUTH'S WORLD GROWS

During adolescence young Papago associate increasingly with adult relatives from their own and other villages. Girls regularly join the groups of women from different households who work together at laundering or sewing; boys work with men's groups at butchering or repairing fences. In accordance with the seniority principle, they accept direction and occasional correction from their elders and share the friendly affection Papago have for all relatives. If a boy or girl is particularly fond of any one adult, the intimacy arises entirely from personal choice.